

ended in failure. From the purely military point of view, however, it was not a major disaster: the Austrians were unable to advance beyond the old front lines. Moreover, the ultimate objective of the operation—to relieve the pressure on the Western Front—had been attained, at least in part.

The political implications of the defeat were much more important. Patriotic *élan* was succeeded by bitter disillusionment. The High Command blamed the revolutionary organizations for the defeat. The committees accused the officers. The Cadets resumed the political offensive against the Soviet. Even before the final collapse of the operation, the Communists launched an offensive of their own.

THE JULY RIOTS

Lenin's plans were laid in advance: First, to induce or compel the Executive Committee to overthrow the Provisional Government; next, to purge the Committee, with the aid of the Petrograd regiments; then, using the authority of the Tauride Palace, to extend the grip over the front army; and finally, having all armed forces in hand, to take over the country. Before Lenin decided to strike with all his forces, however, a single regiment, the First Machine Gunners, opened the onslaught. This regiment had particular reason to be impatient: the front was urgently demanding more machine guns, and it was slated to send most of its men to the trenches soon. On the other hand, if the Bolsheviks were in power, the machine gunners would stay in Petrograd. This was the only issue that counted with the men, but political events gave them a chance to cover up their motives with nobler catchwords.

Four ministers, representing the right wing of the Cadet party, resigned on July 15 in protest against the agreement other members of the Cabinet had concluded with the Ukrainian National Congress, promising autonomy to that province. Their resignation neither surprised nor alarmed the leaders of the All-Russian Executive Committee which, after the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, had succeeded the Petrograd Executive Committee as the mouthpiece of the democratic forces in the nation. This new body consisted of three hundred members. Half of them were elected by the Congress on the basis of proportional representation of all political groups. To these were added a hundred representatives of local Soviets (including the army committees), and the remaining fifty seats were allocated to the old Executive Committee in recognition of its leading role in the revolution. The representatives of the provincial Soviets had returned to their homes but were ready to come to Petrograd whenever the need